THEOLOGY

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Editorial

"PAUL'S sermon was *very good*, better than I expected," wrote Henry Sidgwick to his mother on 4 June 1869.[1] "It is misrepresented in the most important points in the *Pall Mall Gazette*." He was referring not to the Apostle of the Gentiles, but to the preacher of a sermon to the abortive Free Christian Union. Even in the Victorian hey-day, when sermons were much more sought after by the national press than they are at present, and there was more space to publish them, preachers like other public speakers had sometimes to complain that their discourses had been misrepresented through inadequate or faulty reporting. Grounds for such complaint are bound to be more frequent now, both because with the best will in the world newspapers can seldom report more than a few excerpts from a speech or sermon, and also because, in the case at least of the more popular newspapers, what makes good copy may be an excerpt or excerpts by no means representative of the tenor of a whole discourse. Preachers like other public speakers soon learn to take this as a matter of course, and to allow for the difficulties under which reporters and editors labour. There are, however, occasions when publicity is given to so false and harmful an impression of what a preacher has said that some protest is required.

We should not call attention here to the following matter, if it were of only personal or local interest. But in fact it received a good deal of publicity in the national press, and apparently on the Continent as well, for a request was received for a broadcast on the subject in the B.B.C.'s European Service. Moreover, there is useful instruction to be derived from the various ways in which the episode was handled in different newspapers, especially as regards their willingness to offer redress when they have attacked a speaker for what he has not said.

On Sunday 27 April the Dean of Windsor gave an address, as he had done on several previous occasions, to the Queen's Scouts (formerly King's Scouts), who were assembled in St George's Chapel. The Dean was aware that a few reporters were present, but he thought it very improbable that they would want to report his remarks. In fact, he spoke with his eye on the Scouts and not on the press. His address[2] was quite unpretentious, of much the same kind as was no doubt

[1] See *Henry Sidgwick: a Memoir* (1906), p. 197.

[2] The complete text of the address was published on 9 May in *The Windsor, Slough and Eton Express*. The editor explained that he had not intended to publish the Dean's address, but was doing so because of the way it had been misrepresented in other newspapers.

being given on that Sunday to Scouts in many other churches all over the country. His theme was that while men require bread, i.e. all that is needed for their physical health and material security, and while we must be thankful that these good things are available for everyone in England to an extent that they have never been before, yet men cannot live by bread alone. Men can exist, as turnips and cows exist, if their material wants are supplied; but for a full human life, as Christians understand it, other good things are necessary too, qualities which will not thrive where there is exclusive concentration on the provision of material welfare and security.

This is a familiar enough theme, which one would not expect to excite any particular comment. It is no more than an application of the theological insight that the Christian attitude to even the best human ideals and achievements, including the Welfare State, is bound to be dialectical. That is to say, we have to accompany an emphatic *Yes* with an emphatic *But*. It is understandable that a secular newspaper, if it were on the look-out for copy, should fasten on one side of the dialectic and ignore the other. In the *News Chronicle* of 28 April this is what happened. Some of the Dean's remarks, which by themselves and out of thir context looked like a depreciation of the benefits accruing from the Welfare State, were quoted on the front page under this headline:

DEAN DENOUNCES WELFARE STATE

The report stated that the Dean had used the expression "welfare cow".

This allegation that the Dean had "denounced the Welfare State" produced an outburst of hostile and abusive letters and articles not only in the *News Chronicle* but in some other newspapers too, as well as of dozens of even more hostile and abusive letters that were addressed to him personally by post. Eventually the storm subsided, not only because it was a nine days' wonder, but because there was shown to be no occasion for it. Lord Rowallan, the Chief Scout, wrote to the *News Chronicle* (6 May) to say that the Dean's address had made on those who listened to it a very different impression from what the newspaper report had conveyed, and on 9 May the following concise letter from the Dean himself was also published:

> DEAR SIR,
>
> It is your headline that has caused the trouble and the phrase "Welfare Cows" which I never used. I did not "denounce" the Welfare State. No one but a fool would do that. The benefits are too obvious to need enumeration. The fact remains that if we reached Utopia we should still be dissatisfied because man cannot live (though he can exist in comfort) by bread alone.
>
> I tried to say this to the Scouts.
>
> Yours faithfully,
> ERIC HAMILTON, Bishop,
> *Dean of Windsor.*

The moral so far is that both the press and the public are extremely sensitive to anything which looks or sounds like an attack on

the Welfare State, especially perhaps if such an attack is presumed to have been made by a representative of the Church. It happens that in this case no such attack was made; nevertheless, the incident shows that the legacy of suspicion, which the Church has inherited from its earlier attitude to social reform, is very far from being dead, and that this fact must always be borne in mind by any churchman who undertakes to speak about present social problems. He may be talking wisdom itself, but he is likely to be misunderstood because of his association with an evil tradition that is now happily past except in the popular imagination.

The Dean of Windsor's reported denunciation of the Welfare State was commented upon in at least two weekly papers and the difference in their manners deserves to be advertised, though we are sorry to say that it is a church newspaper which comes badly out of the comparison.

"Janus" in *The Spectator* (2 May) observed that "the Dean of Windsor has been vigorously denouncing the Welfare State", and on the supposition that this report was correct proceeded to make some quite reasonable and temperate comments. The Dean at once sent "Janus" the complete text of his address which showed how misleading the report had been, and "Janus" in the following issue of *The Spectator*, with the candour to which his readers are accustomed, acknowledged that he had made a mistake, through depending on a headline in a daily paper.

The comment in *The Church of England Newspaper* (2 May) was of a very different kind and had a much less pleasant sequel. Its weekly "Commentary" included the following paragraphs:

A Dean and the Welfare State

Bishop Eric Hamilton, Dean of Windsor, has attacked the Welfare State. He says that the process of making life more smooth and comfortable every day and rendering struggle and stress unnecessary is very dangerous. It takes away all the danger and destroys the value of achievement. The nation will go down hill and lose its manhood. The result will be disaster. People who take advantage of the amenities now available the Dean described as "welfare cows".

Presumably, by the last phrase, the Dean meant the young men of the Gloucestershire Regiment, most of them brought up under the Welfare State, whose deeds of bravery we all celebrated some months ago. Perhaps the Dean would have that inscribed as the epitaph on their graves: "Welfare Cows."

Let us examine the Dean's remarks. First, however, let us examine the Dean. He received his education at Bradfield, one of the better-known public schools, and University College, Oxford. His subsequent marriage to the daughter of a title, the protection throughout his early life of the parson's freehold, a suffragan bishopric and finally a deanery, do not suggest any serious exposure to the storms of economic uncertainty. His career may not have brought him wealth. But on the evidence of *Who's Who* he has certainly not experienced the character-forming impact of pauperism. Short of gross moral lapse his job has always been safe. In illness or accident the best medical attention has been available. He enjoyed the best education the country could provide—at the expense of beneficent parents or relatives. Possibly his brains helped him on the way, but God gave him

those. When he reaches old age he need not fear the workhouse. In short, society provided the Dean with great opportunities, and insecurity is unknown to him. Would he say that the silver spoon which protruded from his mouth at his birth scooped away his manhood? Would he say that all his advantages, far more than those enjoyed by most beneficiaries of the Welfare State, have smoothed his life and relieved it of all suffering and danger? Would he say that his achievements have not been worth while? Would he, indeed, describe himself as a "welfare cow"? Assuredly not.

Security and Character

It is extraordinary that in the opinion of some observers conditions of promise and security from which came the class of people who are supposed to have been the glory of Britain and the pioneers of empire become entirely destructive and corrosive when given to those of a different social stratum. Every fair-minded person will recognize that the upper middle class has produced men of intelligence, courage, and initiative, who have made the name of Britain great in the best sense. But it should have occurred to the Dean that one of the reasons for this has been the security and privileges that have given them a good start in life and cushioned them against the worst catastrophes. On the other hand, nothing so surely destroys manhood and initiative as the perpetual menace of disaster. Nothing so crushes the spirit as an irremovable burden of anxiety.

For over forty years the Welfare system has been growing and developing. It produced the Eighth Army which fought through the Desert and through Italy; the Fourteenth Army which fought in Burma; Wingate's men; the Gloucesters; the men of D-Day; the few of the Battle of Britain, to whom we owe so much; the young national servicemen now fighting in Malaya who have received such high praise. After all this, it is saddening and sickening to hear of a high dignitary of the Church sneering at the elementary social reforms which have made it possible for these men to become what they are or were. It strengthens the suspicion many people entertain that the Church has no sympathy for any except the fortunate bourgeoisie. In other words, the Dean was talking through his right reverend hat.

The Dean at once wrote, enclosing the complete text of his address, to ask for a public apology from the editor. The editor, however, refused to offer any apology whatever, and would not even acknowledge that he had made a mistake in three times printing "welfare cows" in inverted commas, a monstrous expression which, as has been pointed out, the Dean had never used. All the editor did in the following issue (9 May) of his paper, except for printing one letter of protest, was to publish extracts from the address, selected by himself, with a few prefatory remarks in which he did not withdraw one word of what he had said on 2 May.

We are by no means averse to hard hitting in controversy, provided that if a publicist is found to have been hitting into the air or below the belt he is prepared to acknowledge his mistake and to apologize, or is at least willing to let his readers know what is said on the other side.

On 10 May one of the Canons of Windsor, who had been present at the service on 27 April, sent a short letter to the editor of *The Church of England Newspaper* in which he expressed his astonishment that no apology had been made for what had appeared in the issue of 2 May. He said that he had heard every word of the Dean's address, that he would object as much as anyone to a "denunciation

of the Welfare State", but that it was an entire mistake to suppose that the Dean had denounced it on 27 April or at any other time, and indeed that the idea of his doing anything of the kind would seem ridiculous to every one who knew him.

The editor of *The Church of England Newspaper* did not publish this letter.

Pastoral Work with Alcoholics

One thing has clearly emerged from recent work in the treatment of alcoholics—that the best person to deal with the problem of alcoholism is an alcoholic. He alone knows from experience the wretchedness of being an addict; he has a deep insight into the problem, and is the only person really able to deal with another going through alcoholic suffering.

An alcoholic is not simply a person who drinks too much. There are many people who drink to excess, just as there are people who gamble too heavily, and men who entertain other men's wives too frequently. A person who drinks too much is someone who must be handled, from a pastoral point of view, in the same way as anyone else who indulges in anything to a harmful degree. For the purposes of this article it must be made clear that only true alcoholics are under discussion: and by a "true alcoholic" is meant a person who, in spite of the knowledge of the adverse effects of drink upon himself and his family, is quite unable to avoid excess. An alcoholic is someone whose life is quite unmanageable: he cannot control drink. He is a compulsive neurotic.

Another point which must be stressed concerns the effect of alcohol. It is commonly thought that alcohol is a stimulant. Generally speaking this is incorrect. There are occasions, for example, in cases of fainting, when the effect of alcohol upon the membranes of the mouth, throat, and stomach, temporarily is to stimulate the heart beat: but this is a purely physical and temporary reaction. The final and most important effect of alcohol is to depress the inhibitions and to paralyse the nervous system. Alcohol is, in fact, a drug.

The first faculties to be depressed by alcohol are those of self-criticism and self-restraint. The sense of personal responsibility is blunted; critical judgment, accuracy, and concentration are impaired. Under the influence of alcohol, a person may *feel* that his mental alertness improves, that his co-ordination is better, and that his physical capabilities are improved. In fact, his powers of self-criticism are blunted.

Sometimes a nervous musician, or a sensitive person awaiting an important interview, may well be helped through the ordeal by a

tot of brandy. In this way temporary relief may be given: the inhibitions are depressed, and the ordeal of the recital or interview is faced with abandon; but there is a deterioration afterwards, when the effect of the alcohol has worn off.

Alcoholics themselves cling tenaciously to the false idea that alcohol is a stimulant; hence their attachment to the early morning drink after an evening of heavy drinking. But it must be emphasized repeatedly that alcohol is not a stimulant, but a drug which paralyses the nervous system.

It is easy to understand how the man with over-developed inhibitions finds a value in alcohol that is difficult for normal people to appreciate. It is probably true to say that all alcoholics drink because they find in alcohol an escape. The general principle therefore, in dealing with them, is to help them to discover why they drink, to explain to them sympathetically the symptoms of the disease from which they suffer, and to lead them to find the grace of God which alone can adequately help them. Alcoholism itself is invariably a symptom rather than a disease; it always indicates some maladjustment or frustration, perhaps of a very long standing. The only adequate way of dealing with maladjustment and frustration—often, clumsy words for sin—is by repentance and forgiveness. And dealing with alcoholics is primarily a religious process.

It is perhaps worth while to say, here, something about drunkenness and moral responsibility. Seventy per cent of all offences which come before the courts are associated with alcoholism, and drunkenness is frequently put forward as a plea in mitigation of an offence. In the case of the addict, this is possibly a reasonable argument, for he cannot help himself; but they who put forward this plea should remember that alcoholics are "certifiable" in law. In the case of normal people, drunkenness is rather an aggravation of an offence.

But how does the pastor deal, in practical terms, with an alcoholic? What does he say to him, and how does he handle him?

Consider first the way in which contact is made. People know, through a sermon, or an article in the parish magazine, or through ordinary pastoral visiting, that the parish priest is interested in the problem. Sooner or later direct contact is made with a drinker. Once the first contact is made, and when it is dealt with successfully, the priest will soon find that the work accumulates with snowball effect. When wives and mothers come to talk about their relatives' excesses, the priest must listen as patiently as possible, and do what he can for them; but nothing can be done for the alcoholic himself until he approaches of his own free-will. He must telephone, send a note, or call himself; for a genuine desire to overcome drink is the first essential, and a *sine qua non*. Sometimes it is possible to say something which may bear fruit much later. A priest once said to an alcoholic in the street, "One day you are going to bang your head pretty hard through drink; when that happens, remember that you've got someone who will help you." Later, the alcoholic made his own approach. Another useful thing to do is to call on a man when he is incapably drunk, and to leave a note for him. "Sorry we could not

have a talk. If you want to see me, you know where I live." This too has brought the drinker along, sooner or later. But he must come voluntarily. He cannot be helped until he is crying desperately for help. He may have to lose his job, his wife, and his health, before he realizes his condition. Without this overwhelming sense of need and a real desire for help, nothing can be done for him.

What is the next step, when he has arrived, and is sitting rather sheepishly in the study? He has probably just recovered from a severe bout of drinking, and had a real shock of some sort. First, he must be told what is wrong with him. He must be told that he is a sick man. The pastor must talk to him about his experiences and describe his symptoms. It is always the first drink that is vital. The alcoholic thinks that he can take just one; and having had one, he thinks that he may as well hang for a sheep as for a lamb. His health goes. He cannot sleep unless he is drunk; and he knows that the hang-over will make it difficult for him to go to work in the morning. When he wakes, he feels jittery; he must have the early morning drink; yet he knows that if he has one he will not be able to stop; without the early morning drink he will be unable to go to work; and with it he will be so shaky by midday that he will be unable to work through the day. So he gets really drunk and probably loses his job.

His wife keeps an eye on him and pours the stuff down the sink. He is horribly afraid that he will run out of supply; so he secrets bottles behind books, in the radio cabinet, in the lavatory cistern, in old coat pockets; he puts a bottle of gin in the rock garden; he hangs a bottle of whisky out of the window on a string. The deceit and lying all this involves makes him wretched. Then there is the anxiety about money, without which his supply dries up; this leads him to dishonesty and stealing.

If the man is a real alcoholic, by this time he will be showing signs of relief that his parish priest knows all about it, and can discuss the matter reasonably and sympathetically. If, on the other hand, he has interrupted with the assertion that he is not as bad as that—that he can control his drinking if he wants to—then the pastor can do no more than say he hopes the man is right, and wish him good luck. At the same time he should be careful to assure the man that he can come back for a further talk any time he likes.

Most alcoholics cling obstinately to the hope that one day they will be able to drink socially. Their condition may be compared to that of a diabetic, one to whom sugar is poison, and who cannot take sugar in any form. An alcoholic cannot take any form of alcohol. Yet the alcoholic persists in thinking that he is different, and that there is no reason why he should not take a drink. It may take him a severe slip or two to be convinced on that point. And he cannot be hurried. Until he has made up his mind that he is a thoroughgoing alcoholic, nothing can be done for him. (One man, who has drunk himself out of eleven jobs, is still trying to make up his mind on this point.) The alcoholic who would be cured must be humbled and broken.

The next step is not always easy at first. He must believe in God. It may not be advisable to talk in these terms, unless he is a man of some religious training and background. Perhaps it will be best, in some cases, to say that he must believe in a Power outside himself to make him better. To introduce him at this stage to another alcoholic who has recovered often clinches the point. A priest who perseveres at this work soon compiles a list of cured alcoholics who are ready at any time to assist another alcoholic in trouble. But belief in God is essential. Many alcoholics start on the road to recovery as professing atheists. None recover without, in the course of their recovery, acquiring some degree of religion.

And with belief in God comes an act of faith, a preparedness to hand themselves over unconditionally to God, and to do anything to help themselves and others in distress. It is often good to give the alcoholic something difficult to do at this stage; to send him, for example, on a twenty-mile journey knowing that he has no money. If he means business, he will thumb a lift along the road.

Then comes the stage of trying to understand the cause of his alcoholism. This invariably arises from sin somewhere in his life, for which, very often, he is only partly responsible. Very sordid things will be revealed. Case histories are full of such things as abortion, sometimes leading to the death of a woman; of insane jealousy, of meanness and cruelty, of sexual perversion, especially in the case of men who have been down-and-out for some time. It is impossible to describe the relief that alcoholics feel when all these horrible things are revealed and put into words.

Often, of course, the pastor is up against factors which are beyond control. Frequently the alcoholic is an innocent victim of misfortune. And he must be led to accept, in faith, what cannot be altered. That, after all, is the fundamental question of the soul in adversity—"What have I done to deserve this? Why has God allowed this to happen?" The only answers to these questions are those of faith and the grace of God. Alcohol is never the answer. Drunk, a man may forget for a few hours; but sober again, the adversity is greater.

Whatever the particular circumstances of the alcoholic, fearless self-examination and confession (not always sacramentally) and prayer play a vital part in recovery. Amendment is vital. Amendment at once gets the man at work on some job of service for others; and it is in service for others, and in devotion to God, that the alcoholic is saved from self-pity and himself.

There is nothing in the recovery of an alcoholic that cannot be found in any orthodox textbook on pastoral theology. The pastor's problem is to translate the technique into language that will be understood by the alcoholic.

Once a man is an alcoholic, he must always regard himself as such. In no circumstances must he take alcohol—not even the mildest of beer-shandies. An alcoholic can never be certain that he is free from the mad urge to drink. It comes upon him like an insanity. At the time it is useless to ask him why he drinks: he does not know. This is something the non-alcoholic finds very difficult to understand.

All the pastor can do at such a time is to stay with him, sober him in a nursing-home, if necessary, and give him all the friendship possible. He will lean on his pastor, who will gently lead him back to God, and to a life of discipline and service. The alcoholic must know that whatever happens, his pastor will always be there to help him. He has already lost his other friends through drink. Drunk or sober, he must know that he can rely on his priest. And if he perseveres to recovery, he will soon make far better friends that he ever had before. There is, in fact, a fine sense of brotherhood between alcoholics.

Readers of this article who have heard of the American society known as Alcoholics Anonymous will recognize much common ground between AA and the writer's experience. The writer was, in fact, first introduced to this work by assisting in the foundation of an AA group in S. Africa some years ago. But he in no sense speaks for Alcoholics Anonymous, and in fact has found AA often suspicious of a priest working with them. Once the activity is started, the priest's function is probably better confined to the direction of the "controlled" alcoholics who are themselves doing the work.

It is difficult to obtain accurate information concerning the incidence of alcoholism to-day. Necessarily the definition on page 246 is not easily reduced to statistics. However, from a study of what statistics are available, it appears that:

(*a*) Alcoholism presents little or no problem in the wine-producing countries of Europe. The quantity consumed per head in any country has no necessary relationship with the incidence of alcoholism. Drunkenness is more prevalent among peoples of northern damp and cold climates. U.S.A., Great Britain, and the Scandinavian countries, are in marked contrast to Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Southern France.

(*b*) In Great Britain alcoholism no longer presents a great social problem. The 1936 death-rate attributed to alcoholism in England and Wales was one-eighth of the 1901 death-rate—a remarkable decline. Similarly, convictions for drunkenness have declined from 209,000 in 1903 to 32,871 in 1948. Even so, the improvements effected in 1932 (economic depression) and 1945 (war period) were both temporary. Most countries are now substantially back to their pre-war figures. However, Hermann Levy in his *Drink: An Economic and Social Study*[1] provides sufficient evidence so that English parish priests should at least be able to recognize an alcoholic, and know the methods of treatment.

(*c*) In the U.S.A. the number of alcoholic psychiatric patients undergoing hospital treatment in 1948 was greater than ever before (viz., 1939—4,788: 1944 (war)—3,873: 1948—5,667). At the same time a greater degree of success in their treatment is claimed. Experiments with "antabuse" have been such that it is claimed that this drug successfully combats alcoholic craving in two-thirds of the cases treated. This will induce addicts to go into hospital for treatment. But the existence of such experiments emphasizes the fact that alco-

[1] Pub. 1951: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 21s.

holism is a very serious problem in the States.[1] (In most British Dominions, where strong spirits are in good supply at low cost, alcoholism is similarly acute.)

(*e*) "Between administrators and voluntary organizations concerned with social and economic welfare, and the commercial interests of the producers and retailers of alcoholic liquor, there is a direct, head-on conflict of attitude and action" (Hermann Levy, *Drink*, p. 207). In these days of the "welfare-state", it appears that if ever there was a case for the nationalization of an industry, the alcohol industry must claim first consideration. It must be expected that the trade would fight such a course—as indeed it has, in the past, fought any legislation or educational and administrative measures which threatened its interests. At the same time attention must be drawn to the statement that "the abolition of all alcoholic beverages by universal consent would be a mistake: and its abolition against the wishes of the community, a calamity" (*The Action of Alcohol on Man*: ed. Prof. Starling).

It seems abundantly clear then that any priest likely to spend part of his ministry in England, the Dominions, or America, will do well to study this difficult problem of the alcoholic.

H. H. E. Peacock.

Great Preachers—XVII. St Bernardino of Siena

Among the many charming stories that reveal the true spirit of the *Poverello* there is one which tells of the inspired reply which he once gave to a learned Dominican in Siena, concerning a hard saying of the prophet Ezechiel:[2]

> "If the statement is to be accepted in a general sense, I take it to mean that the servant of God ought in life and holiness so to burn within himself as to reprove all the wicked by the light of his example and the language of his behaviour. Thus, I say, the lustre of his life and the perfume of his reputation will proclaim to all their wickedness."[3]

It is precisely these qualities, "based on purity and contemplation" rather than any unique pulpit gifts, that, in turn, explain the power of Bernardino degli Albizzeschi (1380–1444) as apostle of Italy and "second founder" of the Friars Minor, two centuries later. Indeed, we seem to catch an echo of that earlier Sienese argument in the saying of his old aunt Bartolommea, recalled in one of his vernacular

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[1] The Scientific Committee of the Research Council on Problems of Alcohol in America has recently expressed the opinion that "the alcohol problem has become one of the major complexities of civilization". (Quoted from *Alcohol Addiction and Chronic Alcoholism*: ed. E. M. Sellinck, New Haven, 1942.)

[2] III, 18 (Vulgate version).

[3] Thos. of Celano, *Vita Secunda S. Franc. Assis.*, pars ii, cap. lxix (Ferrers Howell's literal translation here of *lingua conversationis*, in *The Lives of St F.*, p. 241, is misleading).

sermons: "You must give account to God for the good that you might have done; not for the bad that someone else is doing." That the *praedicatio vitae exemplaris* often carried greater weight than the mere spoken word, alike in fifteenth-century Italy as in Chaucer's England, is clear enough from the frank statement of Aeneas Sylvius that Gabriele of Spoleto, an Augustinian pulpit rival, although famed for his eloquence and learning, was not Bernardino's equal in holiness, "wherefore he did not draw such large congregations". Moreover, as the rigorous warnings of Alexander Carpenter, St Bernardino's English contemporary, remind us,[1] St Dominic's prophetic rebuke still went largely unheeded: *potius humilitate et aliis exemplis virtutum sunt heretici convincendi quam exteriori apparentia vel pugna verborum*. In the person of our Saint, then, the official Church could once again confront the latter with their own avowed ideal, a Gospel missioner living in apostolic poverty, preaching to the people in the vulgar tongue, travelling on foot from place to place in the cause of reconciliation and the reform of conduct, opposing avarice, party hatred and the shedding of blood, and relieving the burdens of the oppressed.[2]

The type of sanctity to which St Bernardino conforms is that of his own Founder. Gazing at the ill-clad, emaciated figure, men thought, writes Sigonius, "that they were beholding the blessed Francis himself". Apart from acts of conscious imitation, the same natural, winsome modesty prompts him to joke with a simple-minded fellow-friar over the offer of a bishopric—three such he refused in his lifetime—or indulge in a private fit of laughter at the strange requests made to him for his coveted help or advice. Pulpit fame could not spoil him. Although no mean theologian and scholar, he speaks of himself as "clinging to the sleeves of the Doctors, who know far more than I do", and, even when fatigued with the strain of successful preaching, would listen meekly to the criticisms of a companion, ever convinced of his own shortcomings. His *prediche volgari* likewise bear ample testimony to a youthful Franciscan gaiety of spirit and a *sancta simplicitas* untarnished by current evil, wherein lay much of the charm that so impressed his acquaintances. Yet, beneath that gaiety, lay a deeply sensitive and affectionate nature, vividly revealed in the pulpit in the warmth of his attacks on brutality, injustice and slander, his frank protestations of love for his native Siena and its *dilettissimi figliuoli*, or the heart-broken lament over the dead brother Vincenzo, as in everyday life in a selfless charity to all men, a penetrating eye for their individual problems and an exquisite tenderness in his approach to them. The portrait which he draws in one of his sermons on the Beatitudes is in fact a true self-portrait:

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[1] See my *Destructorium Viciorum of A.C.*, 1952, pp. 7–16.

[2] For the career of our preacher, readers should consult the standard English Life by A. G. Ferrers Howell, *St B. of Siena*, 1913. There is also an English translation by the Baroness G. von Hügel of the earlier Life by P. Thureau-Dangin, in two editions, 1906 and 1911, the second finely illustrated.

> "He who is perfectly merciful, himself feels the woes of all men and bears them inwardly, as though they were his own. All injuries he forgives most readily; nay, rather he does not feel them or think about them. The sins of all he laments as though they were his; incessantly he desires for all men all the fulness of the graces; he supports all in so far as he can; he also helps all, shares all things, rejoices over the good things of all as over his own. He injures no one, cheats no one, covets nothing temporal unduly; but, rather, is always profuse in all liberality. For, he regards all men as a father and mother regard their own children."[1]

Little wonder that the crowds "hung upon him, unable to quit his shadow", or that his reputation grew steadily as peace-maker and even miracle-worker! As Mr D. H. S. Nicholson wrote of St Francis, so Bernardino, too, "became increasingly a centre of force. The inspiration radiated from him. . . . To incalculable numbers of those whom he met and left again he was the occasion of a complete change of life, by reason of the love which flowed out from him and suffered no resistance."[2]

Another outstanding trait in the character of our Saint, which links him with Gerson (1363–1429) and distinguishes him from many popular preachers of the day, is his sanity, a healthy admixture of moderation and common sense. Here, unlike the Saint of Assisi, we find him lauding instead of disparaging study and intellectual pursuits. The preacher, he says, must convince the reason of the intellectual listener, as well as win the affections of the emotional and utter God's judgment upon sinners. His own discourses, with their frequent reference to learned Fathers and Doctors, amply justify the claim: "I constantly apply myself to the study of Theology." Although no Classical Humanist himself, he commends to his Paduan hearers a life ennobled and made useful by science, as opposed to one of idle self-indulgence. Extreme asceticism and morbid contemplation, on the other hand, he regards as temptations of the Devil. The discreet, sensible man, he argues, will gauge both his bodily and his spiritual strength and not strive to emulate the Saints in all things. "For the judgment is not between us and the Saints, but between God and us. The question will be whether we have fulfilled his commandments to the best of our ability, not whether we have done what the Saints did." Alike in his praise of poverty and in his teaching on prayer, he goes at once to the spiritual root of the matter. God searches the heart: it is the *love* of poverty, the detachment from earthly things, not poverty itself, that he desires, and outward signs do not move him. With equal sanity, our Tuscan homilist shuns the wild prophesying of Antichrist and the other apocalyptic extravagances so prominent in the preaching of the notorious Manfredo and others. Even if such predictions were true, Christ's rebuke to his disciples about pre-knowledge of times and seasons should be sufficient to prove their impropriety, he declares. Requests to work anything in the nature of a miracle likewise roused his indignation, in spite of his fame in that sphere. Apart, indeed, from certain customary

[1] *S. Bern. Senen. Opera Omnia*, ed. J. de la Haye, 1745, tom. III, sermo ix, art. 1.

[2] *The Mysticism of St Francis of Assisi*, 1923, pp. 311–12.

superstitions and prejudices in which he shared,[1] a sober common sense breathes through his utterances, whether, for example, he is dealing with honest doubt, with sermon attendance, conventual life, reproof of a neighbour, or indiscriminate almsgiving. Above all, he is careful to avoid that aggressive interference in political affairs that ruined the influence of Savonarola, as it threatens to ruin others to-day, and the unbridled attacks on those in authority in Church as well as State so widespread in medieval pulpits. Rather is he the reconciler, seeking always to allay strife between Guelf and Ghibelline and maintain the honour of the priesthood. No less remarkable in those coarse, abusive times, is his freedom from pulpit vulgarity and his unstinted praise for the faithful housewife. As a modern French *savant* has confessed, "De Maillard à l'aimable et tendre Bernardin de Sienne, il y a, semble-t-il, la différence du rude climat du Nord au doux ciel de Toscane."[2]

How, then, does our Saint approach and handle the task of preaching? First, he believes profoundly in its importance. He belongs, in fact, to that orthodox company of the Dominican Humbert de Romans, the unknown author of our English *Dives et Pauper* and the Brigettine Richard Whitford that regards the sermon[3] as superior to the mass. Not even Wycliffe himself spoke more forcibly of "the people without God's Word", who, "even though they attend mass, are like the world without the sun". In order to express his message, the "Eternal Gospel" of Love, he was ready to forgo the current habit of discoursing on the set Epistle or Gospel for the day and the parade of erudition that often accompanied it. His prime rule for delivery echoes the *ἐργαζόμενος τοὺς λόγους ὡς ἂν ἀρέσειε τῷ θεῷ* of the great Chrysostom:[4]

> "Never have I uttered any word save for the honour and praise of God. And this rule, which I have always carefully observed, accounts for whatever learning, eloquence, alacrity or authority I have achieved."[5]

No room here for that cheap "vainglory" that has led modern as well as medieval evangelists to play to the gallery! Secondly, we recognize in our hero the high-strung temperament of the born orator and artist. Sometimes an attack of nerves would seize him on the very pulpit stairs. His sudden elation or depression over some minor event, his immediate response to his surroundings, the emotion that pours forth freely as he contemplates the birth or passion of Christ, the sufferings of the Magdalen at the tomb, or the glories of our Lady, his interest in pictures, all confirm the view. Like Chrysostom again, he is always "master of the occasion, and knows how to turn everything to account" in what has been well described as "a dramatic scene, all life and movement". Not only will he vary his subject-matter to suit the varying moods of his audiences, but also study to

[1] E.g., in his attitude to witches and to the Jews.
[2] P. Thureau-Dangin, *S. Bernardin de Sienne*, 1896, p. 212 (Engl. ed., 1911, p. 191).
[3] All that we know of the faith, he insists, comes thus.
[4] *De Sacerd.*, lib. v, cap. 7 (see Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, vol. xlviii, col. 676).
[5] L. Wadding, *Annal. Minorum*, vol. x, p. 12, § xxvi.

present it in their own idiom of speech. Before coming to the point, he strives to gain their confidence—the technical *captare benevolentiam*—by means of some arresting preamble or other device of the *Ars Predicandi*, even by imitating the sound of a trumpet or the buzzing of a fly. With a homely, jocular air he will rouse them or call them to order, like the German Berthold of Ratisbon and other mendicant revivalists of the past, and all, apparently, without loss of dignity or of spiritual force.

Apart from such personal touches, there is little to distinguish the Saint's *prediche volgari*, reported by admirers, or his *sermones latini*, written out by himself,[1] from other collections of the kind. The Latin sermons, which he carried with him to provide a basis for his harangues, exhibit the full apparatus of scholastic *divisions* and *distinctions*, allegoric meanings, quotations from pagan Classical authors,[2] the Fathers and schoolmen, and other current homiletic features. If Bernardino here departs from the pattern of his Founder, he at least follows him in regarding Vices and Virtues, Punishment and Glory as the very pith and marrow of sermoning. Hence, both types of discourse abound in the usual pulpit attacks on male and female finery, gaming, usury, backbiting and the other notorious sins of society. The bonfires of vanities blaze in Siena, Bologna, Perugia and Viterbo as they were to blaze, a year or two later, in France and Flanders at the bidding of the Carmelite Couette and other enthusiasts. Lively anecdotes, fables, proverbs and all manner of *exempla* spring as naturally from our Franciscan's lips. Even his famous painted tablets of the sacred monogram belong to an age that knew the value of visual aids to the spoken word. For the fickle, excitable crowd of the Italian middle ages, such methods might seem well justified. The preacher in modern England, however, facing a more phlegmatic, literate audience, will hardly wish to copy them or learn much from the medieval sermon technique. Nevertheless, he may rediscover that great preaching, like great teaching, is an art of the spirit, not a technical science, and that it demands not only a background of mature scholarship and continuous pondering upon the things of God, but also a selfless passion for righteousness, a fine delicacy of feeling and a blameless life. In this sordid modern world, still harassed by threat of war, by party strife and the struggle for survival or material riches, so eager for diversion and so lacking in high vision, the sheer sublimity of Bernardino's witness arraigns us across five centuries. To those whom it convinces, it is a day of judgment more formidable than all the threats of *apocalypsis* and a voice of salvation unto the ends of the earth. PATER, MANIFESTAVI NOMEN TUUM HOMINIBUS![3]

G. R. Owst.

[1] See the admirable survey by Ferrers Howell, as before, pp. 218–303; etc. Since then, further editions have appeared of the *Sermoni latini, Principali festivita dell'anno*, by D. Pacetti, Siena, 1932, and of the *Prediche volgari*, by P. Bargellini, Milan, 1936.

[2] Thureau-Dangin errs here (Engl. ed., 1911, p. 150; etc.).

[3] To the chanting of these most appropriate words (John 17. 6) at Vespers by the friars of Aquila, Bernardino died, on the Eve of Ascension Day, 1444. They

American Letter: No. 13

I

In 1945 there were celebrations in the United States as in England of the centenary of the revival of the religious life, technically so called, in the Anglican Communion. The most conspicuous commemoration was a Solemn Eucharist of the Annunciation in New York Cathedral, in which members of several communities of men took part, including two bishops (the present Bishop of Nassau, formerly Fr Burton, S.S.J.E., and the former Bishop of Liberia, now Superior of the Order of the Holy Cross). At a similar function at Evanston, Illinois, two Orthodox bishops were present, themselves, as the report of the occasion pointed out, monks of the Basilian tradition, at least technically. So the monastic life has found a place, in some ways a conspicuous place, in the American Episcopal Church. Nor is it unfamiliar to the American public generally. There are somewhere around 100,000 Sisters in Roman Catholic communities in the United States, and their religious habits are familiar enough on the streets of our cities. Indeed, one religious community is among the oldest institutions of American Christianity—Anglican life in what are now the United States began with the settlement of Jamestown in 1607, Puritan with Plymouth in 1620, and Roman Catholic with the Jesuit chaplains who came to Maryland in 1634. Until the suppression of the Society, the Roman Catholic Church in the American colonies was a mission of the English Jesuit Province, enough of whose members held together to continue their work and transmit their tradition to a new province when the Society was revived. And in several places the domes of a Russian Orthodox monastery now rise above the American countryside.

Certainly the monastic life, using the term in a broad as well as a precise sense, has not been alien to American soil. As an associate of a religious order, and the beneficiary of friendly contacts with several communities, I am deeply aware of the significant contribution of religious communities to the American Episcopal Church. Many theological students may say that they owe their souls, many priests may say they owe their consciousness of priestly ideals, to the ministry of members of religious communities, or to priests who have been in close contact with such. Yet in conversations on the subject one feels a certain sense of disappointment among those who consider themselves friends to the monastic life. Precise figures are not important, but the general proportions are of legitimate interest. In the established religious communities of the American Church there are about fifty priests, out of a clergy list of nearly 7,000—I have not included in this calculation the American College of the Oratory of the Good Shepherd, and one or two other similar groups which do not live in community. The number of lay brothers in these communities and in

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appear as his motto on portraits of the Saint by Sano di Pietro and Vecchietta at Siena.

three lay institutes is probably not over thirty. The total number of Sisters is somewhere in the hundreds; and one might have hoped for more in a church whose latest figures claim 1,700,000 communicants. More important than numbers is the question whether the religious communities have made the kind of contribution one might have hoped for in the American scene. Have they effectively brought to us the ancient tradition which they represent—and, on the other hand, has the modern and American church made its own special contribution to the monastic life, which has constantly shown its vitality by the development of the new as well as the persistence of the old?

Both these questions can, I think, be answered with rather more confidence than some who have not given their attention to the subject might suppose. There has been an interesting series of typically American experiments within the monastic tradition. Such in the 1840s were the foundations of Bishop Ives at Valle Crucis and of James Lloyd Breck at Nashotah, which looked for inspiration rather to the working and missionary monks of the early Middle Ages than to the clerical congregations of modern times—an inspiration appropriate to the rustic and pioneer conditions of much of the United States at the time. One of these died out and the other soon ceased to be monastic, but their monastic ideals had a real influence. Such in the 1880s was Father Huntington's foundation of the Order of the Holy Cross in the slums of New York, with a program of dedication to the service of the poor under the vow of holy poverty and, on the founder's part at least, with a sharing of the life and interests of the workers in economic and political as well as strictly spiritual matters. It was with some sadness that Fr Huntington realized that he had to decide whether he was to be primarily a monk or a Christian Socialist, and responded to his primary vocation by taking the Order to a rural monastery. Community life for women began in the American church as in the English in 1845, and was closely related to the social and religious needs of modern cities. Vocations for New York women and service in New York institutions provided the basis of the Sisterhood of the Holy Communion, which was rather a kind of deaconess community than a genuine religious order, and of our first American religious community, which grew out of it, the Community of St Mary, formally constituted when the first vows were received by Bishop Horatio Potter of New York on the Feast of the Purification in 1865. Several communities founded between 1880 and 1910 express a desire for a more flexible form of the monastic life, adapted to modern American conditions. The Holy Nativity, the Community of the Transfiguration, and the various houses of the Order of St Anne, represent, one may venture to say, the sanctification of the modern American professional woman as some of our older communities represent the supernaturalization of the Victorian lady given to good works. With profound intention, I am sure, they have developed habits of a more simple and businesslike character than the flowing robes of older monastic dress—as have also some of the modern Roman Catholic communities.

Experience seems to have shown decisively that national lines

cannot be long ignored even within religious communities; and so the bringing of older religious foundations to America has meant sooner or later the establishment of autonomous American houses or provinces. The Cowley Fathers brought great and holy men to America, to some of whom the American church owes much, and two of the early members of the Society of St John the Evangelist were Americans. But as a community they were scarcely at home in the United States until the American Province became independent in 1914, forty years after the Fathers first came to Boston. Similarly the American foundations of English sisterhoods (St Margaret's, St John Baptist, and All Saints') have been given autonomous status. But in this as in other spheres the American desire to be strictly American is balanced by a desire to naturalize older traditions. Both Holy Cross and St Mary's have increasingly developed along the lines of the Benedictine tradition, and in each case by natural attraction rather than by formal decision. A result of this development, which in turn has further encouraged it, has been their adoption of the Benedictine Office, in the form of the *Monastic Diurnal*, translated and arranged for the Community of St Mary by the late Canon Winfred Douglas, and shortened versions of the Office of Matins. The American Congregation of Franciscans is, I believe, rather closer to traditional Franciscan ways and customs than the Franciscan groups in the Church of England. So it has not been surprising that the Order of St Benedict has found a welcome in the Middle West, where St Gregory's Priory at Three Rivers will presumably develop in time into an American abbey.

II

Typical, I think, of the whole ethos of American monasticism is the greatest figure that it has yet produced in the Episcopal Church, the Father Founder of Holy Cross, James O. S. Huntington. Externally Father Huntington's life was lived in a tension between the intensive and extensive vocations of his Order—the life of prayer and the work of ministry to souls along traditional lines on the one hand (*contemplata aliis tradere*), the expression of ancient monastic life and work in new ways to meet new needs on the other (*non nova sed nove*), Holy Cross and its founder have left their impress on the educational, missionary, and social service work of the American church, as well as on the devotional life of individuals, parishes, and societies. Internally his union with God was, as his friends now and again glimpsed, as profound as it was simple. He continued to the end of his life filling up notebooks with three-point meditations, which certainly he did not absolutely need to do, and was always suspicious of the kind of mysticism that talks about itself; he lived too close to the goal to want to worry either himself or others much about the mechanisms of spiritual progress. With all his joys and disappointments God gave him the gift of youth; I remember being both amused and edified shortly after my ordination at the sight of young priests at a clerical meeting consulting the old man about recent theological literature

which they were less able to keep up with than he was. In 1884 Father Huntington's profession by the Bishop of New York (H. C. Potter) called forth a serious protest from the then Presiding Bishop; fifty years later another Presiding Bishop said his simple requiem in the New York Cathedral. He lies now, loved and venerated, in a chapel under the high altar at Holy Cross, and on his altar tomb is inscribed the message that he left with his brethren—"I will always intercede."

What we may hope to see in America is not, I think, a different form of the monastic life from what now exists among us, but a greater extension and diversification of what we have. Since churchmen are more widely scattered than in England, most of our parishes exhibit some form of "average churchmanship", and in the same way nearly all of our religious orders are committed in one way or another to the mixed life. It might be better if we had definitely contemplative communities on the one hand and some more completely active forms of holy religion on the other. The Poor Clares at Little Portion are currently our only enclosed community, and they, I believe, would properly be described as semi-enclosed. One or two other efforts are being made in this direction, including a community of men living under the Augustinian Rule in Florida, but it seems too early to say whether these foundations are destined to prosper. The Roman Catholic church in America has in general shared the activist tendencies commonly ascribed to American religion, and the slow but definite establishment of contemplative orders in it is all the more significant as running counter to a general trend. Since the war three Trappist monasteries, two of them over a century old but until recently quite small, have been crowded, and no less than five new foundations have been made—two of them in Utah and New Mexico, among the striking surroundings of the western mountains which have waited so long for their monks and hermits. Trappist nuns have recently arrived, the first American Charterhouse is in process of formation, and the Carmelite communities have long been growing steadily if unobtrusively. There are certainly contemplative vocations among American Episcopalians, and several of our communities have been able to encourage such in a few of their members. But there should be a place for definitely contemplative foundations. They will still have to struggle with the general tendency of the country—as was amusingly shown recently when the adventures of some Roman Catholic nuns who came to set up a foundation at Bethlehem, Connecticut, were turned into a movie, in which somehow the enclosed Benedictine convent was transformed into the Order of the Holy Endeavour, engaged in establishing a hospital. But all the better for that; the church must always both meet its environment and challenge it by contrast.

On the other hand, one would like to see a further extension of the definitely active forms of the monastic life. It is well that some of our religious orders have found their community works outside of the strictly ecclesiastical world, in education or social service, so bringing the church's life at its most intense in contact with the needs of the world. But I wonder if there is not a place for communities even

more definitely plunged into the life of the modern world—abandoning perhaps the traditional conventual habit (as our men's communities have for some years found it better ordinarily not to wear their habits outside of their own houses), and the choral recitation of the Divine Office which Anglican communities have, quite properly I think, generally retained. I am not suggesting for such groups a lower level of monastic devotion, but rather speculating on the possibility of a new expression of the age-old monastic spirit. They would be upheld by their fellowship with mixed and contemplative communities, and at the same time could reach out into new areas of work and personal contact. There is something of the sort among American Roman Catholics in the "Ladies of the Grail", I believe a Dutch foundation originally, who have neither conventual habit nor conventual chapel, but worship in the local parish church together with the laywomen for whom they conduct Schools of Catholic Action. There have been a few experiments among Episcopalians in communities organized on a similar basis, although they cannot yet be said to have quite found themselves, except perhaps for the Community of the Way of the Cross at Buffalo, New York.

III

It is the vocation of all Christians to live in the world and for the world, for which Christ died, without being of the world which has rebelled against God. The most strictly enclosed monastic community still breathes our common air, lives and eats of the products of the world, and cannot escape some kind of involvement in its social and economic structure. Conversely there is a certain otherworldliness about even the most active Christian—or, to his shame, a certain allegiance to another order in even the most worldly of laymen or clerics. The church needs the religious life in the technical sense as a testimony to all of us, as well as to enable those called to it to fulfil their vocation. As one of the secular clergy (I would not renounce this somewhat confusing title, since it speaks of our obligation to live in and for the world though not of the world) I have ventured to speculate somewhat on what might be the future development of monastic institutions in the American church. It seems only proper to say something on the related question of what the church should do for its monastics. Surely we owe our Communities not only the continued support of prayers and alms, but also fuller interest and, if one may discreetly use the term, better publicity. It is still more necessary than it should be to meet the surprised inquiry, "Do we have monks in the Episcopal Church?" Our sisterhoods rightly feel that it is their main duty to be all glorious within. But it may be that some of them have moved a little too much in their own circle of friends and benefactors rather than in the general stream of the life of the church. Happily in recent years several sisterhoods have been able to allow some of their members to take part in summer conferences of young people and similar gatherings. Others have made themselves better known in their works, such as the up-to-date and outward-

looking school conducted by the Order of St Helena at Versailles, Kentucky. Our official missionary magazine, *Forth*, gives periodic attention, I think in fair proportion, to the overseas work of religious communities—though on the other hand, when a series of pamphlets on Church Vocations for Women was put out under National Council auspices some years ago it included treatments of the doctor, the nurse, the teacher, the social worker, and so on, and the Sister was hastily added as an afterthought. The main responsibility in this as in other matters of church teaching lies with the clergy, and all of us would do well to refer more often to the place of the monastic life in the church—rather, I think, by finding it natural to speak of it in various connexions than by preaching formal sermons on the subject.

Someone has said that while Anglicanism is free from the more spectacular forms of ecclesiastical corruption it has its own special abuse, a tendency towards quiet worldliness. Against this the monastic life is a standing testimony and as such we cannot do without it. I hope it will in diverse forms grow and prosper in the American church. Its combination of intensive and extensive cultivation of the Christian calling represents something nowhere more needed than in modern America and in the Episcopal Church in particular. With it too there should be a further development of those forms of Christian vocation which tie together the monastic and the secular ways—groups of Oblates and other associations of celibate clergy—the Order of Deaconesses, which at the moment is rather declining in America, and if it finds itself again will, I am sure, do so by stressing the semi-monastic character of the deaconess's vocation—groups of clergy, married or unmarried, engaged in common work and living a common life, which seems at present to be the best approach to securing the ministrations of the Church in blighted urban areas—groups of Associates and other pious confraternities—and for all of us, whether expressed in formal commitment beyond baptismal vows or not, the call to follow Christ without delay in simplicity, purity, and obedience. Whether the exciting experiments we hear of from France and elsewhere will have anything to suggest for American activities I do not know; but I am sure that there will be new calls for the future for the representatives in the new world of the ancient tradition of the dedicated life in the Body of Christ.

E. R. Hardy.

Religion in Jane Austen's Novels

When Henry, Jane Austen's brother, went to the bishop for examination preparatory to ordination, we are told that "that dignitary, after asking him such questions as he thought desirable, put his hand on a book lying near on the table, which happened to be a Greek Testament, and said: 'As for *this* book, Mr Austen, I dare say it is some years since either you or I looked into it.'"[1]

[1] *Life and Letters of Jane Austen*, 1913, p. 333.

This reflection, doubtless typical of the Anglican prelate of that period, was unjust as regards that particular ordinand; for Henry Austen had been at some pains to read the New Testament in the original, and prepare himself according to his lights for the cure of souls: he became an earnest preacher of the Evangelical School, and was for many years perpetual curate of Bentley, near Alton. It was, perhaps, with his earnestness in view that Jane, writing to Fanny Knight in 1814, says, "I am by no means convinced that we ought not all to be Evangelicals, and at least persuaded that they who are so from reason and feeling must be happiest and safest":[1] though, with her usual good sense, she was not deceived by the proceedings of many who claimed to belong to that school of thought. "We do not much like Mr Cooper's new sermons," she writes to her sister Cassandra in 1816: "they are fuller of regeneration and conversion than ever, with the addition of his zeal in the cause of the Bible Society."[2]

Of these decided opinions on current theology the most careful observer fails to find a trace in the novels; but on many other points the commentators have indeed run riot. No one would be more entertained than Jane Austen herself at the minute criticism to which her books have been subjected, and at the attempt to elucidate from them a complete compendium of late eighteenth-century style of living, morality, fashion, and religion; and yet to a certain extent the critics are right. Written as the novels avowedly are for entertainment and not for instruction, yet the very supremacy which Jane Autsen enjoys in her own limited sphere, and the faithfulness with which she reflects the everyday life of her own class and time, have naturally led her to her elevation as a "trustworthy source" of history to a height to which Dickens, for instance, could never attain. Dickens often sought to expose faults by unblushing exaggeration and special pleading; Jane Austen exposes them with the truth of the artist who has no need of artificial devices to prove a case.

The range of her ideas is, as we have seen, limited, and she had the sense not to step out of the charmed circle within which she was supreme. Into that circle, however, come the clergy of the day, and we might therefore naturally expect that each of her novels would contain a strong religious element. Of this, however, there is not a trace; and we cannot escape the conclusion that in spite of the survival of much of all that was best in the Church of England on the negative side within Miss Austen's sphere, the conviction that her books were primarily written for entertainment and not for instruction, and the deep vein of personal piety which coloured her own character, the religion of her time was not interesting or absorbing enough to write about. It was part of the established order of things; it upheld a standard which, reasonably interpreted, would bring satisfaction in this world, and a strong probability of happiness in the next; but it could not wholly dominate the life, or reveal the most attenuated vision of the supernatural. Anglicanism was at that time

[1] Ibid., p. 344. [2] Ibid., p. 376.

"a foolish church, chattering, parrot-like, old notes, of which it had forgotten the meaning; with a clergy who not only thought not at all, but whose heavy ignorance, from long unreality, hung about them like a garment, and who mistook their fools-cap and bells for a crown of wisdom and the music of the spheres; faith in God, in man, in virtue, were, in fact, exchanged for faith in the stomach, in fortunes, carriages, lazy sofas, and cushioned pews".[1] Such a religion could offer but a feeble resistance to the imminent attacks of advancing Democracy in alliance with militant Dissent. At the date of Jane Austen's death the Oxford Movement was yet nearly twenty years off, and the Church of England still "slept the sleep of the . . . comfortable".[2]

Comfort, indeed, seems the chief attribute of the parsons of the novels. As they pass before us in review, with their gaze directed towards their horses, their dinner-parties, or the prospective heiresses they hope to marry, we can with some amusement imagine with what horror such men would have read the sentence in the opening *Tract for the Times*: "We could not wish a more blessed termination of their course than the spoiling of their goods and martyrdom." Such a statement must have seemed to them little short of blasphemy.

The indictment of Jane Austen against the clergy of her day is all the more formidable when we consider the argument from silence; not what is said of them, but what is omitted. Positive religion for Mr Collins, for instance, is summed up when he writes in his first letter to Mr Bennet: "Having received ordination at Easter, I have been so fortunate as to be distinguished by the patronage of the Right Honourable Lady Catherine de Bourgh, widow of Sir Lewis de Bourgh, whose bounty and beneficence has preferred me to the valuable rectory of (Hunsford), where it will be my earnest endeavour to demean myself with grateful respect towards her ladyship, and be ever ready to perform those rites and ceremonies which are instituted by the Church of England."[3] It is to be noted, however, that Mr Collins, with all his sycophancy, is not generally represented by the authoress of *Pride and Prejudice* as other than sincere according to his lights, except possibly in the famous letter to Mr Bennet on the subject of Lydia's elopement, when his sentiments evoke from the easy-going Mr Bennet the indignant exclamation: "And *that* is his notion of Christian forgiveness!"[4]

The other parsons of the novels—Edmund Bertram, who in his endeavour to do right for right's sake is perhaps the nearest approach to a Christian priest which the authoress vouchsafes to portray;[5] Dr Grant, the easy-going gourmand; Catherine Morland's father ("a clergyman without being neglected or poor, and a very respectable man, though his name was Richard"); Mr Tilney, who

[1] J. A. Froude, *Nemesis of Faith*.
[2] Strachey, *Eminent Victorians*, 1918, p. 10
[3] *Pride and Prejudice*, c. 13.
[4] Ibid., c. 57.
[5] And therefore the most generally hated by the average reader of the present day. See e.g. an article in *The Times* newspaper of 6 December 1921, in which Edmund is dismissed as a prig, as obtuse, and as deserving of "concentrated contempt".

seems to have nothing to do but to hunt or to dance attendance on pretty girls either at his home or at Bath; Mr Elton, the ladies' man, who had indeed the sense to propose to Emma, but is ultimately chiefly remembered as having had the temerity to marry that terrible woman Augusta Hawkins;[1] Edward Ferrars, who takes orders mainly to obtain a living of £250 a year to supplement his small income; Charles Hayter, who, though beginning life as a "country curate—a most improper match for Miss Musgrove of Uppercross", yet had "a very fair chance, through the Spicers, of getting something from the bishop in a year or two . . . and the prospect on his father's death of succeeding to a very pretty property"; we cannot help thinking how far removed indeed from these worldly clergymen and their aims is the ideal set forth by such men as Fathers Dolling or Mackonachie, and to express a hope that if Jane Austen lived in this present year of grace she would not now find it possible to reproduce Messrs Collins or Elton as typical Anglican priests. And let us hope it would be equally difficult to find an ordinand who would attend a ball within forty-eight hours of ordination, as Edmund Bertram did![2]

The established religion, however, in those days was not considered to be in danger, and consequently abuses which a critical and destructive age was to bring to the surface and mercilessly expose were tolerated with comparative ease. Tried by this standard, Jane Austen's parsons are not found so wanting as might be supposed. "Indeed, she shows herself rather in advance of her age by making the patron of a living insist on residence when he gives it to his younger son, instead of allowing the son to continue living at the paternal mansion and ride over to his parish once a week to do duty":[3]

"(Edmund) might be the clergyman of Thornton Lacey every seventh day, for three or four hours, if that would content him. But it will not. He knows that human nature needs more lessons than a weekly sermon can convey; and that if he does not live among his parishioners and prove himself by constant attention their well-wisher and friend, he does very little good either for their good or his own."

" 'Sir Thomas,' said Edmund, 'undoubtedly understands the duty of a parish priest.' "[4]

[1] The gradual deterioration of Mr Elton's character after his marriage is one of the most interesting strokes of Jane Austen's genius.

[2] Mr Baring-Gould quotes in *The Church Revival* an anecdote from the *Life of Bishop Wilberforce* of an innkeeper who sought to obtain compensation from the bishop, because the candidates for Confirmation no longer attended a ball in the evening given in honour of the occasion, as he had been wont to provide one during the time of Bishop Wilberforce's predecessor. "And it is said that the wife of a bishop in the West was accustomed regularly to give a dance at the Palace upon the day of Confirmation in the Cathedral city, saying that it was a pity so many young people should be brought together without affording them the opportunity of enjoying themselves!"

[3] Goldwin Smith, *Life of J. Austen*, p. 54.

[4] *Mansfield Park*, c. 25. Present-day criticism of the pre-Tractarian parson is generally so exacerbated that it may be well to remind the reader that Jane

Sentiments such as these set us wondering whether, if Jane Austen had lived as long as her sister Cassandra, she would have responded to the influence of the early Oxford Movement, and stepped into the place so worthily occupied at a later date by Charlotte Yonge. Her delicate irony and accipitrine criticism would have been of the greatest value to the church in the first years of the Revival. Let us consider once again her exalted views of the clerical office. In replying to Mary Crawford, who had somewhat rashly volunteered the statement that "a clergyman is nothing", Edmund Bertram retorts: "I cannot call that situation *nothing* which has the charge of all that is of the first importance to mankind, individually or collectively considered, temporarily or eternally—which has the guardianship of religion and morals, and consequently of the manners which result from their influence. No one here can call the *office* nothing. If the man who holds it is so, it is by the neglect of his duty, by forgoing its just importance, and stepping out of his place to appear what he ought not to appear. . . . The *manners* I speak of might rather be called *conduct*, perhaps, the result of good principles—the effect, in short, of those doctrines which it is their duty to teach and recommend; and it will, I believe, be everywhere found that as the clergy are, or are not, what they ought to be, so are the rest of the nation."

No wonder we hear Mary Crawford reply, in a manner which seems strangely familiar to-day, "You assign greater consequence to the clergyman than one has been used to hear given, or that I can quite comprehend!"[1]

Other sidelights on the religion of the day can be discovered by a careful reader of the novels. Emma regrets that "though Christmas Day, she could not go to church"[2]—a more formidable expedition in Miss Austen's time, when sermons lasted for hours, and the churches were guiltless of heating apparatus. And we note with satisfaction that no reflection is implied on the soundness of the Protestant principles of those who in Mansfield Park join to present Fanny Price with a cross and chain to wear.[3] Present-day members of the Lord's Day Observance Society will approve one of Anne Eliot's reasons for rejecting Mr Eliot's addresses: "She saw there had been bad habits; that Sunday travelling had been a common thing."[4] Moreover, the church buildings could not have been altogether so decayed as tradition generally implies: for speaking of the church at Kellynch, Charles Musgrove tells Captain Benwick that it is "very well worth seeing"[5]; and Frank Churchill, on his first visit to Highbury, goes to look at the church.[6] If, as seems very probable, Highbury is really Leatherhead, he would have had to admire the pulpit which Mr Knightley gave to that church in 1761, as appears by the following entry in the Church Vestry Book:

Austen's verdict on the Stuart family is not altogether inapplicable to her clergymen: "Their virtues are seldom allowed, while their errors are never fogotten."

[1] *Mansfield Park*, c. 9. [2] *Emma*, c. 16. [3] *Mansfield Park*, c. 26.
[4] *Persuasion*, c. 17. [5] Ibid., c. 14. [6] *Emma*, c. 24.

"*October 25th*, 1761.—Whereas Mr Knightley has, at his own expence, raised this pulpit to a much more convenient height" (this, we must remember, was in the days of church galleries), "and erected a new reading desk, and seat for the clerk underneath the same, which are highly ornamental to the church and very convenient to the congregation, it is hereby ordered that the thanks of the vestry be paid in the most respectful manner to Mr Knightley for this fresh mark of his regard."[1]

The ever-present problem of the "poverty of the clergy" is also touched upon. Jane Austen says in one of her letters, "As for money, that will come, you may be sure, because they cannot do without it"; but Mrs Jennings would certainly not have subscribed to this piece of insight, for on hearing of Edward Ferrars' proposal to take orders, marry Lucy Steele, and "hope for a living", she bursts out: "Wait for his having a living! aye, we all know how *that* will end; they will wait a twelvemonth, and finding no good comes of it, will set down upon a curacy of fifty pounds a year, with the interest of his two thousand pounds, and what little matter Mr Steele and Mr Pratt can give her. Then they will have a child every year! And Lord help 'em! how poor they will be! I must see what I can give them towards furnishing their house. Two maids and two men indeed! as I talked of t'other day. No, no, they must get a stout girl of all works. Betty's sister would never do for them *now*."[2]

And how delicately the fashionable London preacher of the day is satirized in the words put into the mouth of Henry Crawford: ". . . I must have a London audience. I could not preach but to the educated—to those who were capable of estimating my composition. And I do not know that I should be fond of preaching often; now and then—perhaps once or twice in the spring, after being anxiously expected for half a dozen Sundays together; but not for a constancy; it would not do for a constancy."[3]

"Miss Austen introduces very little of what is technically called Religion into her books, yet that must be a blinded soul which does not recognize the vital essence, everywhere present in her pages, of a deep and enlightened piety." So wrote Archbishop Whately in the *Quarterly Review* of a hundred years ago; and strange would it have been if at the hour of her death such a believing Christian should not have been strengthened and sustained by the consolations of our most holy religion, which were administered to her by her two brothers who were Anglican priests. Surely we may join with confidence in the hope carved on her tomb in Winchester Cathedral, "that her charity, devotion, faith, and purity have rendered her soul acceptable in the sight of her Redeemer".

A. E. H. Tucker.

[1] Quoted in a letter to *The Times Literary Supplement*.
[2] *Sense and Sensibility*, c. 38. [3] *Mansfield Park*, c. 34.

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CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of THEOLOGY.

SIR,

May I have the courtesy of your journal to inquire whether any of your learned readers can tell me when and by whom the phrase "the extension of the incarnation" was first applied to the Church?

Yours sincerely,
GEORGE S. HENDRY.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS. A theological exposition. By Cosslett Quin. Lutterworth Press. 15s.

In the opinion of the reviewer, though we have not overvalued technical scholarship (and God forbid that we should undervalue it or seek to evade its problems), we have at least undervalued the importance of serious Biblical and theological thinking in terms intelligible to all educated men. Yet historically it is this latter which is of prime importance. And so we should welcome Mr Cosslett Quin's exposition of the Ten Commandments as a new embodiment of one of the classical functions of theology.

It is an exposition which takes as its basic structure the traditional threefold use of the law—political—the meaning of the law for human living; pedagogic—as a means of bringing us to the point of repentance; and didactic—as a guidance to the life of Christian grace. The structure gives a spur and discipline to Mr Quin's reflections which is on the whole a great asset; though the fact that in the exposition of the Fourth Commandment it comes in only as an afterthought perhaps implies that a freer basis might have given rise to a new conception of the basic uses of the law.

Any such exposition as Mr Quin gives is, of course, the exposition of the particular commandments in the light of a total theological perspective. As the inescapable underlying fact of our present theological predicament is that we have no such total theological perspec-

tive, but only tentative explorations towards its possibility with the inheritance of the massive structures of the past, Mr Quin's enterprise is very hazardous. But he has brought to it an energy and a verve which are infectious, and a mind well stored with illustrations from Biblical history and historical theology and from classical and modern literature—not to speak of personal experience, which help to reinforce the seriousness of the life of God and the claim of God in the Ten Commandments.

Some criticisms may be made. For one thing, a distinction ought to be made between *exposition* and *application*, one being the seeing of the historical meaning in the widest possible historical and theological perspective, and the other the pointing out of the present relevance of the test in the light of a total theological perspective. The limitation of theological *application* where the meaning of the exposition has not been fully probed can be seen e.g. in E. F. Tittle, *The Gospel according to Luke* (Harper, 1951). Mr Quin's application is not devoid of exposition, but would be stronger for a more careful attention to it.

Our justification for assuming that when the Bible says "and God spake all these words" we can take these words as representing an utterance of God, needs happier and more penetrating treatment than is given to it in Mr Quin's Prologue; and his illuminating treatment of the Fourth Commandment needs to be supplemented by a study of the eschatological meaning of the Sabbath in the Bible (cf. A. G. Hebert, *The Throne of David*, chapter 6). It may be noted that modern discussions of the date of the decalogue have been summed up in a remarkable article by H. H. Rowley in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* for September 1951.

But Mr Quin has written a rich and penetrating exposition of the Ten Commandments which should be valuable for teaching and preaching, and it is to be hoped that others will follow his example. If in places he should seem to some people traditionalist where he should be experimental, or experimental where he should be traditionalist, that is perhaps a measure of the vitality and balance of his mind.

BRADFORD. H. CUNLIFFE-JONES.

THE TIMES, LIFE AND THOUGHT OF PATRICK FORBES, BISHOP OF ABERDEEN, 1618–1635. By W. G. Sinclair Snow. S.P.C.K. for the Church Historical Society. 20s.

This book comes very opportunely when, once again, the question of reunion between the English and Scottish churches is in the air.

Dr Snow gives us very clearly a picture of the so-called "first Scottish Episcopacy", which lasted from 1610 to 1637 and in which the Church of Scotland passed, almost painlessly, from Presbyterian to Episcopal government. The Lambeth Conference of 1908 looked back hopefully to the precedent of 1610 when dealing with Anglican-Presbyterian relations. The precedent is obviously important, and 1610 was a significant year in the history of ecumenical advance.

None the less conditions to-day, both in the political and ecclesiastical fields, are so vastly different from what they were then that the case must not be pressed too far.

I confess that the part of the book which has most interested me is that dealing with the actual thought of Bishop Forbes. The history of the Church of Scotland at that time has been told in half a hundred good books (and I hope that one effect of Dr Snow's book will be to send people back to the brilliant essay with which the Dean of Winchester prefaced his edition of the *First Book of the Irenicum of John Forbes*).

Patrick Forbes was described years ago by Dr James Cooper as the most sagacious Scottish bishop of his time, and the real debt that we owe to Dr Snow is that he has rescued that figure for us, and has done so most effectively.

The Bishop has been largely overshadowed by his son John, admittedly more brilliant and the most attractive of the "Aberdeen Doctors", but Dr Snow is surely right that John Forbes was but painting on a larger canvas the thought of his father. Both of them are fascinating ecumenical figures. The bishop fought the ecumenical battle on two fronts—with the Scottish Nonconformists and with the Roman Catholics. In his dealings with them he was of course a child of his time, and his tolerance is largely comparative. But he was not negative, and much that he had to say is worthy of careful consideration when Catholic meets Protestant at the present day. He believed strongly in the "invisible Church", but held that one can enter it only by way of the visible Church within which it has always been found. So he finds the direct continuity of the reformed churches, not through the outward structure of the church from which they had departed, but through the saints of every age who had formed the true Church within the visible framework. Thus, though he believed that the Roman church had so far departed from the Gospel as to be no longer a true church, yet he was able to hold that she was the visible instrument through which apostolicity had been preserved. His remarks on the marks of the church are strikingly pithy and not to be too hastily brushed aside.

This is a review and not a controversial essay, otherwise one might be tempted to answer the points the good bishop makes. But I believe that Forbes puts into words many things that are often either imperfectly comprehended, or taken for granted, in Protestant-Catholic discussion, and on these grounds alone this book should be pondered by those who are so engaged.

Henry R. T. Brandreth, O.G.S.

Paris.

Bishops and Societies. A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion 1698–1850. By Hans Cnattingius. S.P.C.K. for the Church Historical Society. 21s.

The sub-title is important. The book is not concerned in general with the many religious societies and trusts which sprang up about

the end of the seventeenth century, and of which several survive to bless us to-day. It is concerned with the S.P.G., the S.P.C.K., and the later C.M.S., though the writer justly speaks of the former two at least as conspicuous examples of such societies. The work is primarily a study of a particular instance of the continually recurring tension between the organized Church on the one hand, usually represented by the episcopate, and, on the other hand, new spiritual movements arising from below, in this case the great missionary societies with their independent governing bodies.

In its inception the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was designed by the excellent Dr Bray both to assist the bishops of London in their responsibility for churchpeople in America and to do for the Church of England something of what had been done for the Church of Rome by the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, founded in 1622. From its foundation in 1701, S.P.G. possessed a Royal Charter, and had in theory and in practice a high regard for the episcopate. Bray's elder child, the S.P.C.K., a less official body, though not primarily concerned with missionary work, supported missionaries in southern India for nearly a century after 1728; and, in default of others, was accustomed to make use of Lutherans supplied by the Halle Mission. The Church Missionary Society, in origin much less closely attached to the episcopate, also employed Lutherans among its emissaries from its inception until about 1830. Meanwhile the vital necessity of oversea bishops had long been felt by wise minds, and the difficulties, which were mainly political, had been gradually overcome: in the 1780s three bishops were consecrated for America, and in 1813 the vast bishopric of Calcutta was founded. With bishops on the spot, engaged in and overseeing the real work, and with committees of clergymen and laymen working on finance and other matters in London and in great towns abroad, it was inevitable that differences should at times arise over questions of pastoral jurisdiction, such as the location, licensing, and discipline of clergymen and catechists. It is in these differences, keenly if courteously agitated, that the author finds his illustrations of the tension he is studying. Some of the chapters are a little heavy-going, as administrative history is apt to be; but they will be found interesting by all who are concerned with administration to-day or who care for signs of the vitality of the Church before the Victorian revivals. In the end a certain dramatic unity is given to the whole essay when, in the penultimate chapter, the movement for a sufficiency of really "missionary bishops" is seen brought to a head in the 1840s through the foresight, first, of the American bishop G. W. Doane, and then of our own C. J. Blomfield, Samuel Wilberforce, and William Howley; whereby the Anglican genius of constitutional episcopacy emerged triumphant, and the way began to open for the great gatherings which we know as Lambeth Conferences.

For this workmanlike book the Church is once again indebted to the interest taken by Swedish scholars in the thought and polity of the Church of England. Dr Cnattingius, who is a research fellow of Uppsala University, has worked hard at his English sources; he

possesses a remarkable understanding of the technicalities of English Church life, and of the characters of leading men; and he shows great fairness in threading his way through their varieties of theological approach and their misunderstandings. His researches into Anglican history have had financial support from Stockholm and Uppsala. Miss Bulman's English version of his original draft runs easily and naturally.

Edward Swansea & Brecon.

Brecon.

Grundtvig. An Introduction. By P. G. Lindhardt. S.P.C.K. 21s.

The professor of church history in the university of Aarhus, Denmark, has given us a very useful and interesting account of one of the most important figures in his national history.

Nikolai Grundtvig was born in 1783, the son of a country rector in Zealand; he entered the ministry of the Danish church himself and served in town and country parishes; was made titular bishop of Zealand in 1861 and died full of years and honours, a national hero, in 1872. He was so intensely Danish in his thought and feeling that his greatness can hardly be described in terms of another tradition. Nevertheless anyone who is genuinely and simply in love with his own land arouses sympathy and liking from foreigners however remote who, even though they cannot learn much that can be applied to themselves, yet can feel a real interest in the work he did. Grundtvig's was a great work, and by no means in every way remote from us.

He grew to manhood in an age of great economic stress (the aftermath of the Napoleonic collapse) and of a crumbling theology. Lutheranism, once stiff in its confessional orthodoxy, had been corroded by the Enlightenment and was now in danger of being washed away by romanticism. Forces of recovery were at work—an agricultural revival which was to restore the national economy; a resurgent evangelicalism which rekindled piety; and the romantic movement itself was to provide an atmosphere from which orthodox religion might benefit as well as suffer. Grundtvig originated none of these movements, yet he succeeded, through his writings, his activities, and above all his kindling enthusiasm, in combining elements from them all in a widespread national and Christian revival the influence of which is still strongly felt and which has more than anything else given that unique and extraordinarily attractive flavour to what with the Danes more than with many peoples is a felt reality, the national spirit.

The sheer volume of his work is impressive. He translated medieval chronicles of Danish history from Latin and Old Nordic; he translated or composed 2,000 hymns; he was a popular preacher; and through his educational writings he created and inspired the folk high schools in which popular education was to be given by means of national poetry, myth, and history, taught in a Christian atmosphere.

It is this intimate union of the national and the Christian which is characteristic of Grundtvig. There is no arrogance or hysteria in Grundtvig's nationalism, for he is thinking of the cultural unity of language and custom more than of politics. Nor did he reduce the Christian element in the union, but kept it healthy by a vigorous if not always very lucid theology of the church, creed, and sacraments. He avoided some of the pitfalls of Biblical religion in the nineteenth century by stressing the importance of the creed as the rule of faith which held the church together, and of the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist which were its life. It is wrong to interpret Grundtvig as a Danish Pusey or Keble. He is much more like F. D. Maurice, and anyone who is interested in him will welcome Dr Lindhardt's promise of a study of the two men.

Grundtvig visited England, and his comments on the Church on the eve of the Oxford movement are of some interest. He was impressed by the collegiate life of the universities, and derived from it some of his inspiration for the high schools. This book does not pretend to deal fully with the strange personality of Grundtvig. His emotional life was warm and intense. Like his great contemporary Kierkegaard, with whom he had so little else in common, he lived at times on the borderline of sanity. But for his modern readers, and especially perhaps foreigners, the most important question he raises is, as the Dean of Chichester suggests in his discerning preface, the relation of the national church to the national state and culture. "May it be", asks the Dean, "that the divorce between church and nation has been a contributory factor in the loosening of the ties of moral obligation and in the prevailing ignorance of the place of worship in social life? For Grundtvig the larger loyalties were nourished by the lesser." First the man, then the Christian, said Grundtvig; we are created before we are saved. Grundtvig brings us back to the questions of natural theology.

R. Cant.

St Chad's College,
Durham.

Religion in Britain since 1900. By G. Stephens Spinks and others. Andrew Dakers. 18s.

This admirably comprehensive account of British "religion" is one of the publisher's series of *Twentieth Century Histories*. While intended primarily for the general reader, it challenges comparison as a contribution to church history with more specialized works known to us. "Religion" in the title means on the whole the churches, though brief accounts are also given of groups on the fringe of Christianity and of the manifestations of non-Christian religions in Britain. Dr Spinks deals with the general course of the period, paying particular attention to the part played by "religion" in national life, and also contributes an excellent chapter on religion and contemporary arts, though it is somewhat surprising that he should choose it as the place

to describe the revival of religious orders in the Church of England, and the liturgical movement in all the churches. Dr E. L. Allen is responsible for the chapters on the history of theology, while Dr James Parkes deals with the social, industrial and ecumenical concerns of the churches. We particularly welcome the concern of the whole book for the responsibility of the Church to society, and the recognition, extending to chapters largely devoted to the history of each, of the importance of the S.C.M. and the ecumenical movement as a whole in the history of the period.

The editor opens his introduction with the claim that the authors have been able to avoid confessional bias; they have, however, a point of view, which they hold more or less in common. In fact it soon becomes apparent that the book is written from a liberal standpoint, and that while the claim to freedom from confessional bias may on the whole be conceded, other kinds of theological bias are none the less operating, especially in the account of the rise and decline of liberalism, which is of course a prominent feature of the period. Such partisanship, most apparent in Drs Allen and Parkes, is generally refreshing and makes the book pungent and stimulating to read, but when the authors come to treat the challenge to liberalism in the latter part of the period their lack of sympathy for these new developments leads to inaccuracy in reporting, so that for example a reader who had no other source of information would gain quite a false impression of the nature of "continental" theology.

The authors seem not to distinguish between neo-orthodoxy and the fundamentalist pietism to which it is in fact just as opposed as it is to dogmatic liberalism. Neo-orthodoxy is transcendentalist, even, we may agree with the authors, to excess, but is not fundamentalism, though in a very different way, as immanentist as liberalism? Nor is it just to lay at the door of the Barthians contemporary signs of indifference to the social responsibility of the Church. Barth, whom they neither like nor understand, is in fact the great bogy for Drs Allen and Parkes. His influence is the "great blight" on British theology. We may be right to disagree with many things Barth says, but when he is pilloried for being Christocentric in theology, or for his salutary warnings at the Amsterdam assembly, one is driven to wonder if his real offence is not his determination to be unequivocally a *Christian* theologian. Now Dr Allen gives a definition of liberalism broad enough to include the Barthian tendencies he condemns. Will liberalism, whose fortunes have been so significant for the period under review, in accordance with its own definitions of itself move forward in the next period from a humanism with little saving content to take its true and indispensable place as a reflection of one aspect of the eternal gospel? This in general excellent book does indeed afford some ground for hope that this is happening, but unhappily not as much as we could wish.

William Nicholls.

Wells.

LAW AND THE LAWS. By Nathaniel Micklem. Sweet and Maxwell. 15s.

Dr Micklem's thesis is that the practice of the law cannot be severed from ultimate principles of justice without degrading both man and the law. We have seen this happening in Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. Dr Micklem warns us that the same process may be at work in our own midst.

Originally given as the Wilde Lectures in Natural and Comparative Religion for 1949, these twelve brief essays trace historically the relation of jurisprudence to theology and ethics. The views of Cicero are taken for the classical statement of the relation of divine, natural and positive law, those of the Jesuit Suarez for its medieval Christian restatement. The modern repudiation of the classical-Christian doctrine is traced in England to the writings of Austin, whose views have been re-echoed by Sir Hartley Shawcross: "Parliament is sovereign. It could ordain that blue-eyed babies should be destroyed at birth." This, as Dr Micklem points out, does not differ from the legal theory of the Nazis. On the Continent the sundering of jurisprudence from theology is pursued by Kelsen and Duguit. Critical as he is of these materialist schools of jurisprudence, the author pays a tribute to Savigny's historical method, which he believes can be profitably followed by Christians.

If Dr Micklem's argument is at times clogged by the wealth of his illustrative material, the listener—for these essays are cast in lecture form—is continually refreshed by the author's pungent comments. "What theologian or what lawyer has of recent years attempted seriously to relate theological and legal theory?" he asks. "The very existence of the reign of law depends upon the interpenetration of the secular and the relative by the eternal and unconditional." "Christianity is not a private cult like a mystery religion, it is concerned with the law of God and a universal sway over every part of life."

Perhaps the book tries to cover too much ground in 119 pages. It is hardly possible to sound bottom on the relation of love and justice in two pages. On the important question of the reality of corporate personality we are left with a negation where the need is to follow up the positive line opened up by Sir Ernest Barker in his introduction to Gierke's *Natural Law and the Theory of Society*. It is odd to find no reference to the Ten Commandments in a chapter on Positive Divine Law. Finally, Dr Micklem deprives himself of a valuable ally when he says that Hobbes believed that the law of nature is the law of every man against his neighbour. What Hobbes says is in fact very much to Dr Micklem's point: "There is no other law of nature than reason nor no other precepts of natural law than those which declare unto us the ways of peace" (*de Corpore Politico*, chapter 2).

Dr Micklem disarms all these criticisms, however, by his vigour, wit, and by the modesty of his intentions. He says these essays are no more than the "marginal comments of a theologian". As such they present a challenge both to theologians and lawyers. Dr Micklem leaves us in no doubt of the urgency of bringing about a re-marriage

of theology and jurisprudence if Christian civilization is to be salvaged.

ROTHERFIELD GREYS. GEORGE GOYDER.

SHORTER NOTICES

TRANSATLANTIC EXCHANGE. A Look at the Church in New England. By H. N. Hancock. Mowbrays. 3s. 6d.

This booklet contains lucid and interesting impressions of the Protestant Episcopal Church from the pen of a Welsh vicar who exchanged duties for a year with a Connecticut rector. It will do good if it encourages similar exchanges, for they are undoubtedly both pleasurable and beneficial to the clergymen concerned, and maybe to their congregations also.

MORAL AND PASTORAL THEOLOGY. A Summary. By Henry Davis, S.J. Sheed and Ward. 30s.

This is an abridged version of the well-known four-volume work by the late Fr Henry Davis. That work is the best available account in English of Roman Catholic teaching, and the summary, which is itself a volume of nearly 500 pages, will serve as a convenient book of reference for any who want to discover what current Roman opinion or practice is.

PRIMITIVE GOSPEL SOURCES. By B. P. W. Stather Hunt. James Clarke and Co. 18s.

It sometimes happens that a book by an unknown author receives less attention than it merits. It will be a pity if that should happen to this volume. It is a notable and stimulating book which deserves the attention of professional scholars. It opens up not indeed a new, but a little explored, approach to the study of the origin of the material in the Gospels. Canon Stather Hunt does not profess to be a fully equipped guide. He is pointing the way down a road which has great possibilities.

His thesis is that, inasmuch as the main preoccupation of the early Church vis-à-vis the Jew was to prove from the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ foretold in them, a Book containing the relevant passages must have been early compiled. Each text would be "married" to an incident in the life of Jesus which was held to fulfil the text. And there you have the source of the material which the Evangelists have used. In a brief but always illuminating and sometimes exciting study of the N.T., of the primitive Testimony Books (such as Cyprian's), and of the Dialogues, Canon Stather Hunt succeeds in demonstrating that the recurring similarity both of the form of the O.T. texts and of the grouping of them indicates the existence of a

Testimony Book at a very early date. It antedates St Paul. For he, like later writers, never argues that this text or that is christological: he draws out the implications for readers who know they are christological from their Testimony Book. The first "marriage" of texts with illustrative incidents, the author suggests, was made by our Lord himself. See Luke 24. 25–27.

The epistles quote the texts, and the Gospels are compiled out of the illustrative matter. I venture on a speculation of my own. Heb. 1. 6 goes from *πρωτότοκος* to angels; Luke (2. 7 ff.) goes from *πρωτότοκος* to angels. *Hebrews* cannot have got it from *Luke*, *Luke* cannot have got his narrative from *Hebrews*. But both can have got it from the same Testimony Book.

St Paul's College, Grahamstown. F. C. Synge.

Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzebiete. 1951/2. Heft 1. Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, Stuttgart. 25s.

This is an invaluable guide to 1,391 articles on Biblical and allied subjects that have appeared in periodicals. Nearly four hundred periodicals are covered. To take one example, particulars are given of 130 articles that have appeared on the Dead Sea Scrolls. The editor is Professor F. Stier, Stauffenbergstrasse 60, Tübingen. Payment can be made in England through the National Bank of the City of New York, London.

Vacant Possession. By Geoffrey L. Heawood. S.C.M. Press. 8s. 6d.

This book, by the headmaster of a large grammar school, is concerned with the situation created by the Act of 1945 which made religious instruction compulsory in all county and auxiliary schools. For half the children this is probably the only religious teaching they will get to fit them to take their place in a society where all accepted standards of conduct are fluctuating, and as Mr Heawood quotes, "Those who reject Christian beliefs cannot count on keeping Christian morals". The difficulty lies in teaching any group of children from different backgrounds and denominations and of differing capacity, what the accepted Christian beliefs are. Rigidity can prove a stumbling-block, and for the young Mr Heawood rightly regards the Creeds as requiring consideration in their historical context, and a latitude of interpretation. He would also "leave the doors open, and let the young wander where they can find, and be found", thus enabling them to lay foundations of inestimable value when they come in contact with divergent and critical views in later life. The crux of the problem is to find teachers able and convinced enough to carry out the task; "a schoolmaster begins by teaching mathematics, and ten years later finds he has become responsible for morals". Mr Heawood comments on the suggestion that a Teaching Order of the

Churches (presumably itinerant!) might be founded to supply this need, but, failing this, more advantage might be taken of courses and literature already available. Knowledge of religion alone cannot result in morality. Mr Heawood is clear-sighted enough to see that Christianity cannot only be taught, it must be an experience and an offering. This book accepts the problem as a challenge.

ANTONIA MCLEAN.

CHRIST IN THE LITURGY. By Dom Illtyd Trethowan. Sheed and Ward. 12s. 6d.

The book opens with a spirited defence of the necessity of liturgical worship: "the Liturgy is an *instruction* in the precise sense of the word." Two chapters are devoted to an exposition of the theology of the Atonement and of the Mass. Then the Ordinary of the Mass is expounded in two suggestive chapters. The author is particularly successful in setting the *Synaxis* in its historical context, and thereby giving it due weight, a matter commonly neglected by those Anglicans who are most concerned for the Ministry of the Word. An interesting suggestion is the use of patristic sermons, "often suited so perfectly to the needs of modern readers". The Offertory is also given due importance: "The partial revival of the Offertory procession in our day is one of the clearest signs that we are regaining a real understanding of the Liturgy." The heart of the book is in the three chapters on the Liturgical Year, which abound in illuminating remarks resulting from a fresh approach to the propers, unhampered by modern customs and associations. For instance:

Christmas is a feast of light.
The Feast of the Manifestation is the final triumph of the whole cycle.
Lent is not gloomy at all.

Two chapters follow on Modern Liturgical Problems, and on the Divine Office.

The Roman propers have so much in common with the Anglican that the chapters on them can be read with much profit. The rest of the book, though the preface calls it an *œuvre de vulgarisation*, is often difficult to read. The Anglican student of liturgy cannot but envy the wealth of scholarship that is available to his Roman counterpart, and here freely drawn upon. He will also note that the author's approach to a vernacular liturgy is timid; and that he finds it necessary to apologize for "a special insistence upon the laity's participation" which is barely perceptible to an Anglican.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE, DURHAM. GEOFFREY CUMING.

THE ENGLISH FREE CHURCHES. By H. Davies. O.U.P. 6s.

The author of *The Worship of the English Puritans* has put us still further in his debt by producing, in brief compass, this remark-

ably pungent, lucid, and discriminating history of English Dissent. One of the many merits of this new work is its sustained attempt to correlate religious and socio-political history. Congregationalism, with its characteristic emphasis upon the priesthood of all believers and its encouragement of lay initiative, in sharp contrast with the authoritarian and hierarchical tendency of Presbyterianism and Laudian Anglicanism, is presented as the matrix of political Radicalism and democracy, and intimations of the later "Nonconformist conscience" in social questions are detected by Professor Davies in even the earliest Quakerism. So much that is distinctive in modern education (e.g. the study of natural science and modern languages) is shown to owe much to the progressiveness of the Dissenting Academies, which were founded by those who were ejected for their faith from their university posts in 1662. Modern industrial and business enterprise, the basis of nineteenth-century British prestige, is ascribed in no small measure to the solid virtues bred by Puritanism. Thus the cultural relevance of Dissent is established.

If Professor Davies is right, Dissent has contributed largely on occasion to the spiritual revitalization of the Establishment itself. The fervour of the devotional works and hymns of orthodox Dissent in the eighteenth century did much to save English religion as a whole from a new Arianism. The pioneer missionary work of William Carey, the Baptist shoemaker, helped to rouse the Church of England to an awareness of her wider responsibilities. The Evangelical Revival, which influenced both the Establishment and Dissent, was a reaffirmation of principles of Puritan provenance. The ultimate influence of Dissent upon Christendom as a whole is incalculable, for, as Professor Davies shows, the ecumenical temper, which is so encouraging a feature of contemporary non-Roman Christendom, has much affinity with the tolerant spirit, unique in that time, which characterized the Independents in Cromwell's army, notably Cromwell's chaplain, the gracious Sterry.

The tension between Church and Chapel in England was clearly a fruitful one and the present apparent decline of Dissent, in this country though not abroad, is an occasion not for congratulation but for disquiet amongst those Anglicans who are concerned less with denominational advantage than with the welfare of national religion in its complex wholeness.

CUDDESDON COLLEGE. D. J. W. BRADLEY.

SCIENCE AND THE CHRISTIAN MAN. By Charles E. Raven. S.C.M. Press. 4s. 6d.

This is a book of broadcast talks. Those who heard them delivered will remember the attractive microphone style and the flashes of fresh allusion which illuminated a well-worn subject. The appearance of the talks in book form lays them open to a closer scrutiny than perhaps they are meant to bear: yet in spite of this they stand as a model of vigorous and stimulating discussion. They present what is rare in most writing on the subject—namely, a common meeting-

ground for Christians who know little of science and scientific thought and scientists who are ignorant of the Christian faith.

The six talks deal with Science in its relation, respectively, to Religious Experience, Jesus Christ, The Trinity, History and the Holy Spirit. At one moment it is the scientist who is being initiated into Christian theology. Chapter 3 would appear to be the most successful in this respect. At other times the Christian, all too ready to divorce nature and grace, creation and redemption, is being shown the unity that underlies all the activity of God in his universe.

These talks naturally were limited by the factors of time, the medium in which they were given, and the unknown audience which listens to such things on the Home Service. There is also, to one listener and reader at any rate, a limitation in the approach. All the modern discussion of the category of the Personal is avoided: this introduces a limitation which appears in many places. Thus, there is hardly any reference to the possibility that the scientific method "does" something to its subject matter either by manipulation or abstraction which unfits it to come nearer than the fringe of religious awareness. The discussion of miracles and "facts of faith" is less helpful than it might have been. Must we avoid talk of Revelation when we deal with those whose only approach to phenomena is the Inductive method? And which is the more important image for the interpretation of nature and history: Drama or Process? Perhaps these talks were meant to make us ask these questions.

ROCHESTER. D. R. VICARY.

THE ASCENT OF MOUNT SION. By Bernardino de Laredo. Translated, with introduction and notes, by E. Allison Peers. Faber and Faber. 21s.

THE ASCENT TO TRUTH. By Thomas Merton. Hollis and Carter. 18s.

Professor Peers is to be congratulated on making a good book available and an otherwise tedious one readable. Walter Hilton would perhaps have described it as a full homely book, after his own heart. There is a realism about Laredo's writing which is stimulating, and an absence of shrill exaggeration which is refreshing. Its quiet sanity reminds one of Sir Thomas Browne. At the same time he can write with power: "All the monstrous perversions of Nature", he says, "found a remedy in Christ."

The value of the book lies in his discussion of the respective roles of reason and affection in contemplation. An undergraduate recently expressed the fear that the edge might be taken off his intellect by the effort to practise contemplation. Laredo makes it clear that not only is there no damage to the intellect through cessation of its work in contemplation, but actually a resultant quickening. Resort to its exercise can sometimes even become the indispensable condition of contemplation coming or returning. The intellect, so to say, is the flight-deck of the soul's affections. His reasons for the suspension of

discursive thought in contemplation closely follow the psychological analysis of this point by St John of the Cross, of whose thought and even *ipsissima verba* there are not only reminiscences but loud echoes.

The problem is worked out in detail by Fr Merton whose book provides a reliable guide to the mechanics of contemplation according to the teaching of St John of the Cross. The result, however, is disappointing. Von Hügel once remarked that nothing on religion should be written in the first clarity (of mind), but only in the second, after the first cheery clarity has gone. Through beginning to write too soon Fr Merton appears to have been obliged later in the book to think aloud, which is very tedious indeed. To one who values his earlier works this is anticlimax.

CHEADLE HULME. J. K. BYROM.

GUILT. By Caryll Houselander. Sheed and Ward. 18s.

Those who were braced by Miss Houselander's *This War is the Passion* will be glad to meet this vigorous personality again in a longer book. Again she is profoundly Christian and intensely practical; and again the value of her work lies chiefly in the many flashes of spiritual insight which she gives.

Modern materialism has caused the masses of mankind to become the victims of what she calls "Ego-neurosis". Foremost in this mental suffering endured by multitudes is the guilt-complex manifesting itself in an extraordinary variety of peculiarities in thought and behaviour. But in spite of the fantastic and often unreal forms which the complex assumes, there is real guilt in man, crying out for a cure —hence the vain escape mechanisms that man contrives.

The Christian religion exposes the real truth about man, and provides the cure for his disease. Man's plight is the guilt of sin, first incurred by Adam; and his rescue is effected by Christ, who takes into his passion the whole guilt of man. In the Sacrament of Penance, Christ's healing is applied to the soul, the subjective condition for this healing being genuine sorrow for sin and childlike trust in the lovingkindness of the Father. But this is no book of Christian platitudes. There is very skilful uncovering of human motives and needs beneath the delusions created by pride. There is deep knowledge of the ways in which Christ's atoning work is applied to man's spiritual plight. Truths about the Incarnation and Atonement are described in language which brings them out of the picture-book world of ecclesiastical art into the real world of suffering people. The theme of the former book is also expanded: the misery and guilt of every human being is shared by Christ, and the whole Christ indwells every Christian.

Miss Houselander shares to some extent the limited sympathies of the English Roman Catholic community. One small chapter presents protestantism as the religion of escapism. Some of the strictures are justifiable; but the soul of the catholic is exposed to just the same diseases of abusing religion—just as his body is as liable to influenza as that of the protestant.

Illustrative chapters on different aspects of the experience of guilt deal with types so diverse as Haigh, the acid-bath murderer, and Charles de Foucauld.

PADIHAM. STEWART LAWTON.

It should have been stated that the book entitled *Unforgotten*, which was noticed in June (pp. 238 f.), is by T. W. E. Drury.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention here neither implies nor precludes subsequent comment.)

ABINGDON-COKESBURY PRESS: G. Harkness, *The Modern Rival of Christian Faith* ($2.75).

ALLEN AND UNWIN: E. Allison Peers, *The Mystics of Spain* (9s. 6d.).

BLACKFRIARS: H. Chéry, *What is the Mass?* (paper 5s.; cloth 7s. 6d.).

BLACKWELL: W. F. Albright, *The Biblical Period* (5s.).

BURNS OATES: J. R. Palanque and P. de Labriolle, *The Church in the Christian Roman Empire*, Vol 2 (25s.); Jean Guitton, *The Blessed Virgin* (16s.); *The Collected Works of Abbot Vonier*, Vol. 1 (25s.).

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS: J. R. H. Moorman, *The Greyfriars in Cambridge* (35s.).

CAREY KINGSGATE PRESS: A. W. Argyle, *The Christ of the New Testament* (10s. 6d.).

EYRE AND SPOTTISWOODE: Julius A. Bewer (Ed.), *The Book of Isaiah* (two vols., 6s. each); *The Book of Jeremiah*, Vol 1 (Chaps. 1–25) (6s.).

FABER AND FABER: Josef Pieper, *Leisure the Basis of Culture* (10s. 6d.); H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (21s.); D. E. Harding, *The Hierarchy of Heaven and Earth* (21s.).

GOLLANCZ: L. A. Zander, *Vision and Action* (18s.); M. Chaning-Pearce, *The Deep Church* (12s. 6d.); N. H. G. Robinson, *The Claim of Morality* (21s.).

HARPER BROS. (NEW YORK): Anton T. Boisen, *The Exploration of the Inner World* ($4.00).

INDEPENDENT PRESS: D. Horton, *Congregationalism* (6s.); P. T. Forsyth, *The Principle of Authority* (New Ed.) (18s. 6d.).

LUTTERWORTH PRESS: H. H. Rowley, *The Servant of the Lord* (25s.).

MACMILLAN: T. O. Wedel, *The Christianity of Main Street* (7s. 6d.).

METHUEN: F. C. Copleston, *Medieval Philosophy* (7s. 6d.).

MOWBRAY: *School of Religion: Parochial Courses* (Foreword by the Bishop of London) (5s.).

OLIVER AND BOYD: T. H. L. Parker, *The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God* (10s. 6d.).

O.U.P. (COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS): E. A. Dowey, *The Knowledge of God in Calvin's Theology* (24s.).

PRESENT QUESTION CONFERENCE: *Freedom and Responsibility?* (2s. 6d.).

PUTNAM: J. Parkes, *God at Work* (10s. 6d.).

REVIEW AND HERALD (WASHINGTON, D.C.): L. E. Froom, *The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers*, Vol 1 ($5.00).

ROCKLIFF: François Mauriac, *Great Men* (15s.).

S.C.M. PRESS: A. J. B. Higgins, *The Lord's Supper in the New Testament* (7s.); *Intercommunion* (21s.); *The Nature of the Church* (21s.); N. F. S. Ferré, *The Christian Understanding of God* (18s.); C. R. North, *Isaiah 40–55* (8s. 6d.); J. Rowland, *One Man's Mind* (7s. 6d.); David H. C. Read, *The Communication of the Gospel* (7s. 6d.).

S.P.C.K.: H. S. Marshall, *Portrait of the Early Church* (3s. 6d.); C. H. Jones, *Handbook for Continental Chaplains* (5s.).

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